

The Messenger.

STRENGTHENING THE DEMOCRACY IN THE SOUTH

The appointment of negro postmasters in North Carolina is not going to help the radical party in the south. It ought not to help but down it incontinently. In Halifax county alone there are four negroes given such places. One of these is the thriving, handsome town of Scotland Neck. In Georgia the office in the appointing of negroes is rank and fills the whole atmosphere. It will consolidate the disintegrating democracy in that state. It will make the whites indignant in all states, in all communities in all southland. The indignation is deep, and the condemnation open. Republicans of the more decent kind, who are not exactly ashamed of their white skins or apologetic for having to wear it, are frank and explicit in their complaints, and censure McKinley for his want of sense and his intense case of negrophobia, negrophobia. It is so rank it is threatening Major Mc's destruction. The little man has made some wonderful blunders—his four pardons of bank thieves, for instance—but he literally knocked his fat in the fire when he put wool on his head and took the professional political Sambo to his heart. There are newspapers in the north who see the grave mistakes perpetrated by the little man, and have pointed them out with words of disapproval. The leading mugwump paper in New York, The Evening Post, has noted the unfortunate negro selections made, and how they have stirred the southern heart and evoked broad-gauged maledictions from the whites, and not all confined to the democracy.

The New Orleans appointment of a negro has been specially provocative of wrath and indignation. The able Times-Democrat, perhaps the most influential paper of all that section of the south, says of the negro that he "is unfit in every respect for the office to which he was appointed, and no one can or will pretend to the contrary. He was appointed by McKinley, or rather, by Hanna, as a cheap way of paying personal political debt out of the pockets of the people—an act which The Times characterizes strongly as 'a breach of trust,' an insidious and dishonorable speculation." The Evening Post, correctly and sensibly admits that negro appointments are very unpopular with the southern whites of both parties, even when capable men are selected. But the lamentable fact is but few are of this sort, while the most are men without character or other qualifications. The republicans are succeeding excellently in unifying and strengthening the democracy in the south, for that party is the sole hope of perpetuating free institutions, of securing honest, just, economical government, of maintaining the blessings of education, of preventing fraud, corruption and usurpation in office. The Post says:

"The situation appears almost hopeless for the southern republicans. The party managers must either recognize the negroes by giving them their fair share of prominent offices, or they must snub them because of their color. If they recognize the blacks they drive off so many whites that they stand no chance of carrying elections. If they snub the colored politicians they disgust the colored voters, whose hearty support is always essential to success."

In all the north, unfortunately, perhaps there are not five newspapers of much influence that are able to divest themselves of entrenched, deep-seated prejudices and to view the negro question from the proper standpoint of broad statesmanship and enlightened intelligence.

Some days nothing will "come out right," from the time you rise till you retire. Ten to one, the trouble is in yourself. Your blood is in bad condition, and every organ suffers in consequence. What you need is the cleansing, invigorating influence of Ayer's Sarsaparilla.

POSTAL SAVINGS BANK

There is a disposition, we think, to make the establishing of postal savings banks by the federal government a platform with the democracy. As we said recently, we are not sure of the wisdom of this movement. We are not satisfied that they are best for the country, and for the reason given the other day in a paragraph copied from The Jacksonville (Fla.) Times-Union and Citizen. The paternal feature is conspicuous in the plan, and the United States government would have control of a stupendous sum, the careful savings of the people. The article quoted from propounds questions in connection with the plan or system that are well worthy of consideration by southern democrats before they accept it and plunge into the deep, dark sea of paternalism. Northern leading papers warmly endorse it, but they are the papers for the most part that are for the single gold standard. The republican postmaster general is anxious and insistent for postal savings banks. The plea is it keeps money in circulation, keeps it moving. How can it work this way except by the government's using the deposits to invest in some way, in bonds or some other form. Will this be keeping money in actual circulation in the ordinary sense? The plea is that people who save money and do not deposit, put aside their savings in stockings or other places for safe keeping.

But is the plan practical, what it appears to be? The money deposited with the government will draw no interest. Private banks may not be safe. Will people desire to deposit where they cannot draw any interest? The government takes their money and invests it, but the investment brings no benefits to the depositors other than security. Mr. Gary will discuss his scheme when he makes his annual report. He may make recommendations that can be approved of by men of caution and judgment and a proper understanding of our system of government. It really is not without danger that so much of the earnings of the people—\$2,000,000,000 or more—shall come into the possession of the government. If the government had shown itself wise, just, fair, honest and of real business capacity the objection to this paternalistic feature would be modified much. We do not say that the savings banks system shall not be adopted, with certain precautions, &c., but we mean to say that at this writing we are not satisfied that the system without serious objections that may be urged against it. It will require much machinery, will increase the office holding business much, will make the patronage of the appointing power much larger. It is true in Europe the monarchies have adopted a system of postal savings banks, but that need not be necessary or safely what the United States need. Are the working people in the monarchies really better off than the same class in this country? It is all right to save, but the best way is the wise way. What is the best way?

The sense of security against sudden emergencies from croup and bronchitis, felt by those who are provided with a bottle of Ayer's Cherry Pectoral, would be cheaply purchased at ten times the cost of the remedy. In all lung complaints, it is prompt to act and sure to cure.

HOME FOLKS.

That fellow Burns at Raleigh ought to be squelched. He is literally "too big for his breeches."

Did not Chairman James Wilson give the right reply to the tsar's imperial demand? There was no mistaking it. If the people of North Carolina are really captivated by Russell's antics they richly deserve to have him for their ruler unto the end.

Think of McKinley, the little, appointing four negro postmasters in one North Carolina county, old historic Halifax. It is hard not to feel contempt for such infatuation and negrophobia. It is true "that the mills of the gods," when they do grind, "grind exceeding fine." So will Major Mac and his gang find.

North Carolina had on the same day three governors, three United States senators and one star chamber judge within her borders. Russell is greater than any, for he combines within his corporosity, tsar and judge—thereby wielding immense unconstitutional power and holding more offices than the law allows. He is within himself Imperium in Imperio. He is the entire show, band wagon and callopie included.

Killing in North Carolina is not only very cheap, but the price must have fallen. Leon Haynes shot his man for \$2.50, price paid for the infernal work. When such beasts live in our midst the good citizens can realize how uncertain must be life. For a trifling sum, for hope of robbery and for revenge, any man is liable to be shot to death now. And yet foolish people will sign petitions for pardons, murderers are feted, the courts are interfered with, and the one-man pardoning power is used all through the south with demoniacal freedom.

That was a lovely exhibit of Christian amity and sanctification which occurred at Louisburg last Saturday, when a "culled pusson" displayed the prowess of his "muscular Christianity" by knocking down in "man and brother" the president of the negro Baptist Sunday School Association, a la Fitzsimmons. The future of religion among the negroes promises well when a teacher, a preacher, so far forgets his profession and calling as to indulge in pugilistic displays in a deliberative body. Perhaps he thinks he is exemplifying the beauties and attractions of the much vaunted "Christian education" in these decadent times.

Heigho! What sort of a new political breed is that known as "Russell-democrat"? That is an impossibility. It is a hybrid, and democracy has degenerated into that sort of slops that Butler was wont to carry around labelled "democracy." A "Russell-democrat." Marvellous to behold! Another case of white-black, of sweet-bitter, of sick-well, of alive-dead. Mr. Pearson ought to bring an action for damages against any man who would fix the damning brand of "Russell-democrat" upon him. Russell hates a genuine democrat as the "devil hates holy water." That is not all. He has an instinctive dislike of a gentleman. Mr. Pearson may fellowship with Russell, be his friend and defender, but he cannot possibly

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have the faintest connection with democracy or maintain its basic principles and be a Russellite.

Who started the report that General Ransom would canvass next year? That is rather far ahead for a man in his 72d year. Any man in fair health can canvass at that age. Mr. Gladstone made one of his very greatest campaigns, speaking several times a day, when he was passed his 75th year. There is nothing more astonishing in English political history than Gladstone's Midlothian canvass referred to. We hope General Ransom will live to be as old as the great Englishman, and that his closing years may prove his most useful. Speeches by him, 1896, on the straight-out democratic platform would do good doubtless for he is an eloquent and able campaigner.

We once heard a distinguished judge in North Carolina say of Russell that he had made more blunders in politics and more blunders in law than any man he had known. He seems to be blundering more than ever before now in both fields. He has taken Marion Butler, the political crank and acrobat, into his bosom as special adviser, and he has the lawyers against him in his high-handed effort to suspend the railroad commissioners. Poor Russell! He should "throw away ambition," for it will prove his ruin. As to the close tie that binds the tsar and the accidental together now, only the words of the once every-day song will describe it: "Two souls with but a single thought, Two hearts that beat as one."

If "vaulting ambition" in North Carolina ever "o'erleaped itself" and has "fallen on the other" side where success does not harbor, it is seen in Russell's last escapade as big Tower in the barn yard. He has played his cards with little skill clearly, to change the figure. He has acted like a reckless gambler who having no money and no friends to back him loses his head, and driven to desperation madly ventures his fate upon a last throw that will be sure to end in disappointment and defeat. When republicans in North Carolina "high in position" do not hesitate to bestow upon the reckless tsar their unqualified condemnation it is apparent that Russell is about in the condition of the fellow who sitting on the limb of a tree deliberately sets to work to saw it from under him. Russell ought to come to grief speedily, for he is the dearest failure who ever undertook to be either governor or tyrant. Even Curtis Brogden, the stupid, did better. Holden is the only man whose record as governor was so baleful and brutal. He lost his official head. How will it be with the present governor in his role of tsar, judge and political shyster?

If there are three-fourths of the convicts now who cannot read or write, it is indeed a bad showing for the state, after spending so much money on the education of the negroes. If it is really true that crime now is almost entirely confined to the ignorant, the unlettered, it is a strong plea for educating all the negroes and all the whites. Two remarks here: First, the negroes in slavery were ignorant, but they did not constitute the criminal class, as now. It looks as if liberty had converted ignorance into rascality and given to the illiterates a heavy bid for criminal practices. Second, the records of every penitentiary in the south about the year 1885, or later, showed that a large majority then in as criminals were able to read and write. What has increased the criminal class among the uneducated so much, as schools have been increased and so much attention is given to the schools? We never believed that education was preventive of crime.

When the hair begins to fall out or turn gray, the scalp needs doctoring, and we know of no better specific than Hall's Vegetable Sicilian Hair Renewer.

CRIMES FOR 1897

In 1897 there were over 10,000 cases of murder and manslaughter, and only some 120 hangings by the courts and some 140 or less lynchings. So nearly 10,000 of the scoundrels escaped altogether. Since this year began some 100 or more lynchings have occurred. If it keeps on at the speed made thus far it will reach the figures of last year. It is reported that lynchings have occurred as follows: Texas 19, Alabama 12, Mississippi 10, Georgia and Louisiana 8 each, Tennessee 7, Florida 6, South Carolina, Kentucky and Arkansas 5 each, Missouri 3, Virginia 2, and Arizona and Maryland 1 each. In the north, California, Ohio, Nevada, Alaska, and Illinois have had 1 each. That is incomplete as you will see at a glance. Maryland has had more than one lynching, North Carolina has had one, Indiana has had one quite recently. In fact, there have been more in some northern states than reported. Only five according to that account in the north. Too few by many. The account, not entirely trustworthy, says, of the victims of these 97 lynchings 80 have been negroes, 14 whites and 3 Indians. Of the 80 negroes lynched, 35 were killed for the crime of murder, while but 14 have been killed for rape and 9 for attempting it. Of the remainder 4 have been lynched for robbery, 3 for arson, 2 for suspicion of arson, 2 for race prejudice, 2 for murderous assaults, 2 for unknown causes, and 1 each for burglary, writing an insulting letter, wrecking with a white woman, train wrecking, refusing to give evidence, insults and harboring a murderer. If

correct the lynchings for rape in the south have not been so numerous as those for murder. When the negroes stop murdering and raping the hanging by mobs will decline immensely, perhaps practically disappear. But what a commentary on justice is it to have nearly 10,000 scoundrels guilty of murder and manslaughter in one year who altogether escaped the halter. It is indeed a deplorable record of crime and a very poor exhibit for the courts in protecting human life and punishing with death the bloody villains. It is quite certain that many of the rapists have escaped, both the regular and Judge Lynch's courts.

STATE PRESS.

In business, in politics and in all things, it is best to be square, honest, truthful and sincere. The demagogue and trickster, the political jockey and the Janus-faced pie-hunter can only stay on top a short time. The end of all such men is worse than the beginning. Truth is mighty and will prevail. In the end right will come out on top. Every deceiver will be known and every jackass will have his ears exposed.—Lexington Dispatch.

There appears to be only one reason for leasing the penitentiary convicts to a syndicate; and that is that the administration cannot or will not have this institution so managed that it is not a scandal and a burden to the taxpayers. The penitentiary, under democratic administrations, was self-supporting and a credit to the state. Now it is overrun with the governor's favorites, and accusations of the most serious nature are made against its officers without drawing any denial. The proposition to farm out the convicts ought not to be considered.—Asheville Citizen.

It would be a long story to recite what we understand to be the conventional southern view which, for short, has been crystallized into the term "white supremacy." Briefly, we may say, that in a representative and party government, the representative reflect, pretty accurately in the long run, the character of their constituents. So, while the white allies of the negro get the offices and control the negro in a certain sense, they must (from the average white man's standpoint) have been born with or acquired an inferior view of their relation to the negro to that entertained by the members of the white man's party. Circumstances have made of the democratic party in the south the "white man's party." So, when we say that "white supremacy" is the paramount issue in North Carolina, we mean that "clean, honest, honorable, efficient government"—in other words, democratic supremacy—is the paramount issue.—Fayetteville Observer.

The proposition to lease the penitentiary and convicts to a private corporation for a term of years is the best evidence of the incompetence of its present management. Superintendent Smith himself gives the following figures in his report to the directors: Bills audited \$19,171; accounts not audited \$13,086; fertilizers \$3,000; borrowed from state treasury \$15,000. Total indebtedness \$55,997. Deposited since April last earnings of penitentiary \$16,927; amount due from all sources \$3,000. He thus confesses that the institution since it was put under his control has cost \$30,000 more than it brought in. This is since the first of April. It was this showing which induced the attempt to lease the whole system to private parties. The reason the lease was not made was not that the would-be lessees did not pay enough to the state, but that they would not allow the republicans and populists to fill all the departments of the system with incompetent heeled. And the pie-eaters decided to hold on to the offices no matter what it cost the state.—Charlotte News.

POINTED PARAGRAPHS.

When Mr. Foraker talks of 300,000 republican majority in Ohio he becomes altogether too funny for Mr. Hanna.—Washington Post.

Mrs. General Longstreet has decided to hold on to her office until her husband can pick up something in that line.—Washington Post.

Bryan addressed 25,000 people at the Sedalia, Mo., fair, and Foraker about 2,000. That is an average of silver and goldbugs in Kansas.—Houston Post.

We advise Mr. McKinley to try a negro postmaster on some Ohio community. We want to see how the scheme would work.—Atlanta Constitution.



Fifty Years Ago.

President Polk in the White House chair, While in Lowell was Doctor Ayer; Both were busy for human weal One to govern and one to heal. And, as a president's power of will Sometimes depends on a liver-pill, Mr. Polk took Ayer's Pills I trow For his liver, 50 years ago.

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